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A VINDICATION
OF HIS
CHARACTER AND PROCEEDING

IN REPLY

TO THE STATEMENTS
PRIVATELY PRINTED AND CIRCULATED

BY

JOSEPH HUME, ESQ. M.P.

ADDRESSED TO HENRY DRUMMOND, ESQ. M.P.

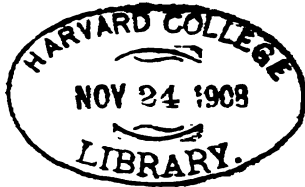
BY

SIR JAMES BROOKE, K.C.B.
RAJAH OF SARAWAK.

"For they intended mischief against thee: and imagined such a
device as they are not able to perform."—PSALM XXI.

LONDON:
JAMES RIDGWAY, 169, PICCADILLY.
1853.

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A VINDICATION,

ETC. ETC.

LETTER I.

MY DEAR SIR,

Mr. Hume has printed a pamphlet, containing a repetition of all the charges, which for several years he has preferred against me; and, although I had resolved no further to notice what this gentleman might either say or do, I have, on reflection, changed my mind, in the hope that my present labour may tend to my future ease; and that it may afford to all those, who really desire to make themselves acquainted with the subject, an easy reference to the documents connected with it.

It is however necessary, in the first place, to explain the circumstances under which this discussion arose, and whence it has since been protracted to an interminable length, and a perplexing entanglement to the cursory inquirer.

In 1848, I was encouraged by the public approbation, by memorials from the principal commercial associations in the kingdom, and by the express

sanction of the Government of the country, to undertake a decisive course of policy for the suppression of Piracy.

In 1849, in pursuance of this duty, the punishment of the Serebas pirates,—a measure both previously and subsequently approved by her Majesty's Ministers—was successfully accomplished. Mr. Hume then, for the first time, stepped forward as my public accuser in Parliament. Ample time was afforded him to collect all the evidence on the subject which could be procured ; and no effort was spared to render it of a sufficiently condemnatory character, to justify a demand for inquiry. Mr. Hume's motions were fully and solemnly discussed, in 1850 and 1851, and on both occasions they were rejected by nearly unanimous majorities, conclusively demonstrating the sense of the House of Commons and of the country.

It appears to me, a grievous injury, inflicted on an individual and on the public interest, to repeat the same charges with the same absence of testimony ; and, in order to prove the injustice of the course pursued by Mr. Hume, I need only recapitulate the accusations which session after session, and year after year, he has heaped upon me. The first grave charge which Mr. Hume advanced, was to the effect, that *I had massacred innocent people, falsely asserting them to be Pirates*. This charge, having for a time been dismissed, he endeavoured to prove that I was a merchant, whilst engaged in

the public service. He next asserted that an unnecessary loss of life had been inflicted in the action of July 1849—he afterwards cavilled at the title by which I hold Sarawak—he has accused me of cold-blooded murders—he has denounced me for neglect of public duty—for abuse of official power—for impeding the progress of commercial enterprise, and for establishing a trading monopoly—and added to this frightful category of crime and of misdemeanour, he seeks to convict me “out of my own mouth” of bad motives, ambitious designs, violence, tyranny, falsehood, injustice, and petty larceny.

Never probably before has a civilized man been so unfortunate as to have charged upon him, at one and the same time, so varied a list of offences; and yet a repetition of these charges, is to be found in the pamphlet, *privately printed, and privately circulated, with letters of recommendation*, from Mr. Hume, addressed to exalted personages, whose ill opinion would most injure me, and best advance the object at which he aims.

I will leave it with impartial persons to decide, whether such a course can be reconciled to the principles of justice, to the maxims of English law, or to the sense of English fair play; and I shall content myself with the remark, that in my opinion, Mr. Hume impedes his own success, and prevents the possibility of a fair inquiry, by the indiscriminating extravagance of his assertions,

and by the virulence with which he urges them against me. It is true, that he has with a clumsy solemnity, staked his public reputation, on the purity of his motives; but in doing so, he has overlooked what others cannot fail to perceive: namely, the *deep personal interest he must have in establishing the charges he has preferred; for if I be innocent, then Mr. Hume is guilty*—guilty of the serious offence of repeating accusations, alike the most grave and the most trivial, against his fellowman, upon evidence which has been twice weighed by Parliament, and twice rejected.

I am desirous, however, of avoiding Mr. Hume's acrimony of expression. I am not unwilling to give him credit, for being ignorant of the real motives which actuate him; and I am inclined to plead in his favour, *that pertinacity of will*, which is too often the misfortune, and not the fault, of advanced age.

I propose referring in the notes to the sources for procuring complete information, on the various subjects under discussion; and in refutation of the first charge of the massacre of innocent people, I shall content myself with an array of the positive testimonies, to establish the piratical character of the Sarebas community, and the specific acts of piracy committed by it.*

* Papers presented to the House of Commons relating to Piracy; Foreign Office, 5th Feb., April, 11th June, 15th

1. Mahomed Kassim—Piracy thirty years ago.
2. Mr. Windsor Earl, 1836.
3. Monsieur Cornet de Groot, 1839—Secretary-General to the Netherland Colonial Minister.
4. Sir James Brooke, 1839, 1840.
5. Captain Keppel, 1843, 1844.
6. The Rajah Muda Hassim, 1843, 1844.
7. Mr. Church, 1843—Resident Councillor of Singapore.
8. Tay Song Que—Commander of a Chinese vessel.
9. Colonel Butterworth, 1844 — Governor of Singapore.
10. Dawich } Commanders of Prahus from the
11. Mahdout } N.W. coast of Borneo.
12. Admiral Sir Thomas Cochrane.
13. The Sultan of Borneo } Subsequently to the
14. The Pangeron Makota } action of 1849.
15. Mr. Louis Jackson—Civil Service of Bengal, 1849.

August.—Notices Historiques sur les Pirateries, 1816 to 1845—Presented to both Houses of Parliament, July 1851—Additional Papers respecting the operations against the Pirates, presented to both Houses, 1851—Borneo Piracy: Further Correspondence, presented to the House of Commons, 30th June, 1852—In continuation of Papers presented 23rd March, 1852—Colonial Office: No. 378, 6th June, 1851—Admiralty: presented to the House of Commons, 11th Feb. No. 53; 15th April, No. 239—Vide Note signed D. B. Woolsey, 1851; 15th November; 16th November, 1852—Hansard's Reports, 10th July, 1851—Edinburgh Review, July, 1852—"Visit to the Indian Archipelago," by Captain the Hon. Henry Keppel, R.N. Chap. 9 to 14.

16. Mr. Urban Vigors, 1852.
 17. Siup—captured after the action.
 18. Abang Bit } Sarebas Men.
 19. Abang Buyong }
 20. Asin—A Chinese formerly of Sambas.*
 21. The decision of the Court of Admiralty in Singapore.†

To this list, I may add, that in 1850 I received the approval of her Majesty's Ministers, with instructions from Lord Palmerston, to repeat the same measure when it should again become necessary.‡

I need scarcely tell Mr. Hume, that *a fact cannot be more than proved*, and if this fact be not established, there has not been, nor can there ever be, an established fact in the world.

On the second charge, of the unnecessary sacrifice of life, I reply :

That there is no testimony whatever in support of it ; as Mr. Urban Vigors, who was formerly asserted to be an evidence in its favour, has now stated as follows: "No man (writes this gentleman), can entertain a greater horror of unnecessary bloodshed than I do ; and yet, I do not for

* The Parliamentary Papers will furnish more depositions than are here noticed.

† If the decision of a Court of Justice on a simple matter of fact is not conclusive, where is the safety of the subject ? where the right of property to be insured ?

‡ Parliamentary Papers : F. O. Moved for, but not yet presented to the House of Commons, 1853.

“one moment hesitate to express my most unqualified approbation, of all that was done in that expedition; the lesson was a severe one, but I am satisfied that it was necessary.”*

It is proved that I was several miles from the scene of action—that the following morning I stopped the pursuit, and rejected a proposal to effect the destruction of the pirates;† that rewards were given for prisoners; that they were well treated, and after a time, dismissed to their homes.

I was not a witness of the action, and had no control over it; how then could I, in any case, be held responsible for what occurred?

The third charge is for murder.

Crimes were committed in Sarawak of the most aggravated character,‡ causing a loss of life, and threatening the peace of society, by the defiance of a humane law, forbidding bloodshed. The criminals were tried and executed, after the deliberation of several days, and *this*, because the trial was not specifically mentioned in a desultory diary, has been termed “*murder*,” with a view to my ruin, under circumstances of peculiar and premeditated treachery ! !§

* Parliamentary Papers: F. O. Moved for, but not yet presented to the House of Commons—“Visit to the Indian Archipelago,” Appendix.

† Statement of Captain Farquhar.

‡ Parliamentary Papers: Colonial Office, presented to the House of Commons, 17th May, 1852, No. 357, pp. 117—118.

§ Idem, p. 117.—Letter from Mr. J. A. St. John and the Rev. Francis McDougall.

Mr. Hume has still another story, advanced on the authority of a Singapore paper: "that in 1846 "by uttering the words, *let them die*, I ordered, or "caused to be put to death, without any form of "trial, three prisoners taken in the attack on "Bruné." I do not envy Mr. Hume *the authority* on which he has advanced so grave an accusation, and he must surely himself allow, that if a public man were on every occasion to resort to a legal remedy to acquit himself, from the imputations thrown out against him, that the business of the country would be impeded, and the Courts of Law kept in constant employment. The editor, in question, has been repeatedly challenged to produce proof, or to name his informant, but has never done either—and yet this barren assertion, contained in a newspaper, Mr. Hume considers a sufficient ground to warrant him in demanding a Parliamentary inquiry!

The real circumstances, I must briefly relate. The men mentioned were not made prisoners by the English force, but were subsequently arrested by the order of Pangeran Mumein, and others, who were administering the government of the city, whilst it was occupied by the naval Commander-in-Chief. The fact was notified to Sir Thomas Cochrane, who declined interfering with the administration of justice; and the criminals, who had been actors in the murder of a branch of the Royal family, were executed, we may presume in accordance with the usual procedure in that country.

For myself, I may say, that I knew neither the names or the persons of the men mentioned, and neither uttered the words, "let them die," or "let them live;" being ignorant of the circumstances which induced the arrest or the execution.

LETTER II.

MY DEAR SIR,

On the fourth charge, namely, that I have been engaged in trade whilst holding a public office, I must dwell at somewhat greater length.

If by a merchant be meant a person who buys and sells for his own profit, then I have never been a merchant at all.

In the year 1845 I was the unpaid agent of the English Government; in 1847 I was appointed Commissioner, and Consul-General; and in 1848 became Governor of Labuan.

With these dates, the following brief narrative will be better understood.

In 1841, I stated that the yearly expenses attendant on the government of Sarawak would be from £4000 to £5000. I disclaimed all personal views of advantage, and offered the country to the English Government, or to others, able, if willing, to enter on the task: I declared that I sought to advance an object, which I considered to be recom-

mended, both by policy and humanity, and “after devoting time and fortune,” I hoped that “having borne all the brunt, I should not be left to bear the burden likewise.” Should I, however, fail in arousing sympathy, I professed my readiness to proceed without help, although, as I then wrote, “*I must seek to raise the necessary expenses by entering into trade, in which case my position would be less influential, and less useful, than it would otherwise be, and my attention distracted, by details foreign to my principal object.*”*

In this early stage of my undertaking, I might have been justly styled a merchant ruler (no uncommon character in those countries), resorting to trade in order to supply a deficit in the public revenue; but I could never, in the received acceptation of the term, be called a merchant, engaged in trade on my own account, or for my own profit; for, on the contrary, so late as the year 1851, there was *an excess of expenditure over receipts, which I willingly made good from my private fortune.*

Before confidence was established, and the measure could be justified by the general increase of prosperity, the imposition of additional taxes would have disturbed the population of the country; and the trading on Government account, for the same reason, was left entirely to the option of the natives,

* Letter addressed to James Gardner, Esq. published in 1842. pages 5, 6, 36, 37, 38, 40.

who were always permitted to dispose of their produce to the highest bidder.

There is the clearest and fullest testimony of my reluctance to avail myself of this means of defraying a portion of the inevitable expenses of the Government, and of my efforts to absolve myself from the responsibility, by placing the revenues of Sarawak upon a more permanent basis.*

This object was finally accomplished on the 1st September, 1846; the trading operations on account of Government were finally closed, and the anti-mony mines, and opium farm, &c. leased for five years.

I cannot close this portion of the subject better than by quoting three short extracts from the correspondence at that time carried on between my agent in England and myself. The first bears date the 4th December, 1845, when I wrote as follows :

“ At the same time you must bear in mind that
 “ if you endeavour to keep me mixed up in trading
 “ matters, that you cannot expect success, for you
 “ must work with the grain and not against it, and
 “ *you well know that from my temper, habits, and*
 “ *education, I am averse to and incapable of all*
 “ *matters relating to commerce. I assure you I would*
 “ *rather return to England, and live in poverty and*
 “ *retirement, than continue subject to the fluctuations*

* A voluminous private correspondence, a small part of which has been published in the Appendix to the Report of the Army and Ordnance Committee.

“ *and anxieties of commerce. You may be sorry for this, but you cannot alter my nature or my feelings, and you will therefore, I am sure, seriously put your shoulder to the wheel, to clear me from my present position.*”

What that position was may be judged from the following extract, dated on the 16th March, 1846.—“ I consider myself (I wrote) representing the Government of Sarawak, and a Government with a moderate sufficient revenue, is more stable than with a larger one subject to fluctuation.”*

* The following extracts from my correspondence with my agent will further prove my views and sentiments.

15th October, 1845.—“ I cannot soar about money matters, and my mind is seriously disturbed and injured by the fluctuations, and even the *very discussion of commercial matters*, in which I am mixed up. This then my desire should be effected as soon as possible.”—My desire was to be relieved from responsibility, by the lease of the mines, &c.

10th February, 1846.—“ I am not blind to the advantages that might accrue to myself, nor do I undervalue riches, but I cannot be swayed by them. Did such considerations sway me, I should be unfit to be where I am, and had they swayed me, it is most probable I should not be here at all. All the advantages which may accrue from farming of antimony ore, &c. you can share with others, who are capitalists. I want nothing beyond what I have stated at present—the due reward of my labour—and I look forward to increase *my revenue, together with the prosperity of Sarawak.*”—I had stated the rental for the antimony mines, opium farm, working diamonds, &c. &c. at £2,500 per annum.

“ *No man relinquishes the golden dreams you have held up to*

To this communication my agent replied on the 24th June, 1846. "The accomplishment of your

"my eyes without a sigh—no man would relinquish them, excepting from a sense that he was doing right."

Then again, on the 1st March, 1846, after alluding to the proposed Company, by means of which I was to become "*one of the wealthiest commoners in England,*" I wrote as follows:—

"You may rightly reap an advantage from this, or any other enterprise of a similar nature, but so essentially different is the position in which I am placed, that I could not do so without the loss of reputation, not only in the opinion of the world, but likewise in my own estimation.—*I am pledged to the good government of Sarawak, and I am bound not to risk the welfare of this people for any motives, whether of cupidity or ambition.* I repeat again, I can in no wise participate in profits which may arise out of the formation of a company, or any other project, which may be started in England, *for it is incumbent upon me to remain independent.*"

The truth is, that previously to these projects being started and the offer made me of realizing vast wealth—"a princely fortune"—by my participation in them, I had never seriously considered the duty which I had to perform towards Sarawak—and I may add towards England—circumstances altered with a rapidity unknown under established governments—to afford protection to Sarawak, and to save myself from the ruin which threatened, I would, in 1842 or 1843, have made over the government, which had cost me thousands, to a Company, for a few shares in the scheme; but in 1846 I would not have done so, for the people were happy, difficulties and dangers had been surmounted, and there was an approach to the permanency which I desired in the state of things. The difficulties of my position, with the change of circumstances, should be borne in mind, when a judgment is formed of any particular event, as separated from the general course of my career. I leave these extracts—a few amongst many of the like tenor in my correspondence—to the consideration of the candid reader.

“ wishes (he stated) on this subject *will I trust terminate the anxiety you have so frequently expressed to be clear of all matters connected with trading, as you can now pursue, with undivided attention, the measures you may consider best calculated to benefit your adopted country !*”

The revenues of Sarawak are distributed amongst four different departments, administered by three native Datus or Chiefs, and myself : they are derived from a fixed rice tax, the lease of the antimony mines, an opium farm, a spirit farm, a tax on killing pigs, a tax on working gold, ground rents, fisheries, fines, and other small items ; and that portion of this revenue, with the disbursement of which I was formerly entrusted, amounts to about £5,000 per annum.

To raise Sarawak to its present prosperous condition, I have expended from my private fortune a sum certainly not less than £20,000 ; and my relations, therefore, with the country are twofold, firstly, as its ruler, and secondly, as a public creditor.

Previously to the year 1848, I received from the revenues a yearly sum for my personal expenses, varying from £300 to £500 ; from the commencement of 1848 to October, 1851, I took nothing ; and from October, 1851, to the close of 1852, I have drawn at the rate of £1000 per annum.

This is substantially the state of affairs at the present time : as a public creditor I have not been

hard, I have never desired to charge interest on the money I have advanced, and when the country can afford to repay it, I shall have no claim on its revenues, and shall be content with such a sum as may be yearly apportioned, to maintain the position which I now hold.

Having premised thus much, I shall confine the explanation, with which I must still trouble you, to the departments of government, which I once superintended, in Sarawak, but which, since I accepted an appointment in the public service of England, has been more efficiently superintended by my relative, Captain Brooke.*

The charges to be defrayed are similar to those in other countries. Payment of interest on the public debt, *excepting what is due to me*, public establishments and salaries, charities, improvements, public buildings, roads, army,† navy, police, &c. &c. ; and the amount, I have before mentioned, of £5000 per annum, is mainly derived from the opium farm and the antimony mines.

A brief detail, therefore, of these sources of revenue, will enable you to judge whether a monopoly exists in the legal and injurious sense of that word, or whether I can justly be said to be engaged in trade, whilst holding office under the government of this country.

* A portion of the time by another gentleman.

† The full complement of the standing army is twenty-four men.

1stly. Opium. This branch of the revenue is superintended by an officer appointed for the purpose, and is a fiscal regulation for the retail sale of opium. The farm is leased to responsible persons for a stated monthly sum, or should such persons not be found to undertake the entire management, there are one or more farmers who receive opium from the Government officer, which they are licensed to retail, and which they account for at a fixed price. I must add, that the opium farm in Sarawak is identical in principle, and nearly so in its details, with the same farms in Singapore, Malacca, Penang, and Labuan; that the Governors of these settlements have never been accused of trading, and that this fiscal arrangement in no manner interferes with the wholesale import, export, or sale of opium.

2ndly. The antimony mines. It will be at once evident that a *proprietary right to the mineral productions must exist in every country*. The antimony ore of Sarawak does not belong to private individuals, and has, since its first discovery, been treated as the property of the State.

The merchant, formerly wishing to purchase the ore, dealt with the ruler of the country, and it was for this ruler that the population were once *forced to procure it. They were driven to labour,**

* Keppel's Narrative, vol. 2, p. 204—205. "The Dyaks were compelled, amidst their other wrongs, to labour at the

and very inadequately remunerated—trade, as I declared in 1841,* was a “curse instead of a blessing,” and led only to the oppression of the poorer classes. When I took charge of the government of Sarawak, I retained the antimony ore as a means of revenue, but I freed the people from compulsory labour, and quadrupled the price paid for the article. The antimony mines have been leased since the year 1846,† and the only right claimed for the government of Sarawak, or for the lessees, is, that they may be permitted to dispose of the ore in the market, where it will fetch the highest price.

Antimony is the produce of other places in Borneo. The freedom of trade is guaranteed by treaty, and I possess no power to prevent the natives working the mines, should they desire to do so. My character would be sunk in European estimation by any such attempt, and my influence over the native mind destroyed by it, and there could be no temptation for me; for should the ore of another locality supersede the ore of Sarawak, the loss, in the first place, would fall on the lessees, and the revenue now derived from that source, which amounts to £2000 per annum, would be as readily obtained by the imposition of a tax upon

ore, without any recompense. Many died in consequence of this compulsory labour.” This is what some persons are pleased to describe as Free Trade!!

* Letter to James Gordon, Esq. p. 21.

† With a brief interval only.

salt, by an additional tax upon rice, or by many other means. Sarawak, from the increase of its population and its trade, and from the increased confidence and prosperity which reigns, would yield a revenue far exceeding what is now collected—it is, *because I have refrained from imposing burdens on the people which they would bear without complaint—because I have expended a large sum to advance the welfare of the country—because my habits, temper, and education, render me averse to all matters connected with commerce—because I have never kept a private account in my life—because I have but rarely and cursorily looked at public accounts, and because the surplus revenue (when it shall accrue) would not belong to me personally, but to the State of Sarawak it is because of these things that I am accused of engaging in trade whilst holding a public appointment in the service of England.* You may, my dear Sir, now decide whether a monopoly has been established,* or whether the indirect administration of a public revenue can with justice be confounded with the personal obligations of trade.

* The following is an extract from a letter from Messrs. Shaw, Whitehead and Co., the agents in Singapore, to Messrs. Melville and Co., the lessees of the antimony mines in Sarawak, 14th June, 1847:—“We note your *remarks on the subject of raw sago; it might be against the principles of free trade established in Sarawak to make a monopoly of the article.*”

LETTER III.

MY DEAR SIR,

The fifth charge urged by Mr. Hume rests on a complaint made by Mr. Burns, of my having impeded his trading operations in the Bintulu river. Mr. Nicol (a partner in the firm of Messrs. Hamilton, Gray, and Co.) the employer of Mr. Burns, has stated that "as the speculation was a mere delusion, he made up his mind to have nothing more to do with it," and "he emphatically denied that I ever, to his knowledge, evinced the least jealousy of the undertaking, or attempted to thwart it; but, on the contrary, that I was willing to promote it as far as lay in my power."* It will be necessary, however, for me to dwell briefly on some of the allegations made by this unfortunate young man, in order to show the nature of the charge which rests on his authority, as opposed to that of his employer, Mr. Nicol. He stated, in a letter addressed to Lord Palmerston, dated June 28, 1851, that during my absence in England, a letter had been sent from Sarawak menacing *the chiefs of Bintulu should they permit a white man to reside in their country.*† This letter

* Borneo.—Further papers respecting Mr. Burns, presented to the House of Commons, 25th June, 1852, pp. 1, 2.

† F. O. Borneo.—Correspondence respecting Mr. Burns,

Mr. Burns stated that *he heard read* early in the year 1848, although no complaint was made relative to it until June 1851, whether to his employer or to her Majesty's Government. So important was this letter considered, that *a sum of eighty pounds was offered for a copy,** by Mr. Motley, the superintendent of the Eastern Archipelago Company, and Mr. Burns subsequently offered money for it when in Bruné for the last time. Whether they succeeded in obtaining the information which they sought must continue a matter of doubt; but the truth of Mr. Burns' statement may now be judged by *the copy of the letter which has been forwarded from Sarawak.†*

It is further asserted that a second letter was sent by me to Bintulu, in the Phlegethon steamer, which Mr. Burns likewise *heard read*, and which ordered the chiefs to turn him out of the country. In reply, it is enough to say, that in 1848 when *the events occurred they were not mentioned*; in 1849 they were stated to be "*rumours*" which *Mr. Burns "was led to believe,"* and in 1851 *are discovered to be facts, all along well known to this same person!‡*

presented to the House of Commons, 23d March, 1852, pp. 1, 2.

* *Idem*, p. 19.

† F. O.—Parliamentary Papers moved for, but not yet presented to the House of Commons. 1853.

‡ Borneo.—Correspondence respecting Mr. Burns, 23rd March, 1852, p. 5.

I am obliged, however reluctantly, to notice another subject connected with a statement referred by Mr. Hume to the Earl of Derby, on the 28th February, 1852.*

On July the 30th, 1851, Mr. Motley joined Mr. Burns aboard the Dolphin schooner off Labuan: it is probable that on the following day the Dolphin sailed for Bruné, a distance of fifty miles, the last fifteen being a difficult river navigation. On the 4th of August Mr. Burns and Mr. Motley were in the palace of his Highness Omar Ali, and on the 5th at anchor below Palo Chermin, having left the city, *whence they addressed to Mr. Hume a statement of the complaints alleged to have been made by the Sultan against my proceedings,** in the presence and hearing of Pangeran Mumein, Prime Minister of Bruné, Pangeran Makota, &c.

The dates will prove that trade was not the object of the visit. Mr. Burns proceeded on a trading voyage to Malludu Bay, where his vessel was captured, and he himself was murdered, by Lanun pirates; and on the recovery of the vessel, amongst the papers aboard, were the two following extracts from a journal kept by the deceased:—

“ July 30, 1851.—Mr. Motley came (from) Coal Point to-day, and wishing to go to Bruné with me, said he offered the Sultan 200 dollars for the Bintulu letter.”

* Borneo.—Correspondence respecting Mr. Burns, 23rd March, 1852, p. 19.

“ August 4th.—*Got the Sultan and Mumein, &c. to promise to write to the Queen about Sir James Brooke and Sarawak in two or three days.*”*

Having become acquainted with these facts, I addressed the Sultan and Rajahs of Bruné on the subject, omitting the names of the parties concerned, and their reply demonstrates that they had *been instigated* to make complaints, and that the *statements forwarded to Mr. Hume were fabricated to injure me.*

I am content to draw a decent veil over these intrigues, and to expose them only so far as it is imperatively necessary in my own defence.

The sixth and last charge urged by Mr. Hume rests on the unsupported allegations of the Directors of the Eastern Archipelago Company, and is, that “ I made a most unscrupulous use of my high position in the service of her Majesty, to obstruct by every means in my power a Company chartered by the Crown, which I was ordered by her Majesty and the Government to assist and protect.”

I may first state in reply, that every step which I have taken during the last five years, has been regularly reported to the Government, without a single instance of its disapproval; and that the

* Borneo.—Correspondence respecting Mr. Burns, 23rd March, 1852, p. 19.

† F. O.—Parliamentary Papers moved for, but not yet presented to the House of Commons. 1853.

above accusation was advanced, when with *the writ of the Attorney-General, and with the knowledge both of Earl Grey and Sir John Pakington, I had taken proceedings to vacate the Charter of the Eastern Archipelago Company on the ground of fraud!**

The following summary of the transactions of this Company, since its formation, are at once curious and interesting, and merit attention, as relating to a subject of national importance.

The Eastern Archipelago Company was incorporated by the Government of Lord John Russell in 1847,† for the avowed purpose of *rapidly developing the resources of Labuan, and of taking advantage of the relations which existed between myself and the Government of Sarawak, for the establishment of new branches of British commerce with the island of Borneo.* The settlement of Labuan was so materially injured by the dilatory operations of the Company, that I considered it my duty on various occasions, to report the circumstance to Government; and so desirous was I of advancing the objects contemplated by the Charter, that in a despatch addressed to Earl Grey, bearing date the 9th January, 1850,‡ I stated, “that I attached so

* Appendix to the 4th annual report of the Eastern Archipelago Company, p. 20—22.

† Eastern Archipelago Company, ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 3rd April, 1848. No. 227, p. 6—9.

‡ Colonial Office, ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 17th May, 1852. No. 357, p. 86.

“ high an importance to the efficient working of
 “ the coal mines, that *I urgently recommended that,*
 “ *if feasible, Her Majesty’s Government should*
 “ *afford every encouragement to the Company, in*
 “ *order to enable it to fulfil its agreements.*”

In November, 1851, being then in England, I complained officially of the misconduct of some of the Directors, and of the intrigues carried on by the Company’s agents and servants in Borneo.*

At the commencement of 1852, I resolved to make myself fully acquainted with the affairs of a Company which had caused, and was likely to cause, such serious detriment to the public interest in general, and to the settlement of Labuan in particular; and on referring to the deed of settlement, the facts I shall now narrate came to light.

For the attainment of the objects above mentioned, namely, the rapid development of Labuan, and the establishment of new branches of British commerce in Borneo; Her Majesty’s Government entrusted the formation of this Company to Mr. Henry Wise, who, besides the Royal Charter, had obtained a lease of coal in Labuan, and a grant for working coal on the mainland of Borneo. It became necessary that Mr. Wise should find persons to assist him in forwarding this important undertaking, and he fixed upon five gentlemen, whose names I am reluctantly obliged to mention in connection with the transaction.

* *Idem*, p. 113—131, 132.

A legal instrument was drawn out and signed on the one part, by Mr. McGregor, Mr. Hugh Hamilton Lindsay, Sir John Pirie, Mr. Alexander Nairne, and Captain Drinkwater Bethune, and on the other part by Mr. Henry Wise. This instrument was executed previously to the formation of the Company, and was subsequently incorporated into the deed of settlement, and contained the following clauses.

1st. "Mr. Wise to be one of the managing Directors of the Company, irremoveable, except by a general meeting of the shareholders, for misconduct or incapacity."*

2ndly. "Mr. Wise to be paid six thousand pounds within four calendar months after the complete formation of the Company."

3rdly. "And also, the annual sum of three thousand pounds every year, during the first ten years of the existence of the said Company."

4thly. "Mr. Wise to receive one hundred shares, (i.e. shares of £100 each), in the Company, to be paid up out of the capital of the Company."

5thly. "Mr. Wise also, to receive two pounds ten shillings per cent on the amount of all dividends, and every bonus, to be made by the Company, provided that no such per centage should be payable in any case, or at any time, where and

* Deed of settlement to be seen at the Enrolment office in Chancery Lane.

“ when the amount of such dividends and bonus
 “ should be less than seven pounds ten shillings per
 “ cent, of the Company’s capital.

“ The above monies, shares, and per centage, to
 “ be considered *as in payment of the purchase of Mr.*
 “ *Wise’s interests in the Charter*, and for the grant to
 “ Mr. Wise for the said term of 20 years (out of 30
 “ years lease), as before-mentioned of his interest
 “ in the said agreement, with the Crown, and of
 “ the said right of working coals on the mainland
 “ of Borneo.”

And further, “ as a remuneration for his ser-
 “ vices and the premises already rendered, as before
 “ stated, Mr. Wise to receive (over and above the
 “ before-mentioned monies, shares, and per centage)
 “ as his salary, as one of the Managing Directors,
 “ eight hundred pounds per annum, and two
 “ pounds ten shillings per cent on the amount of
 “ all dividends, and of every bonus to be made by
 “ the Company, such per centage not exceeding in
 “ any one year one thousand pounds; so that Mr.
 “ Wise’s salary in the whole, over and above the
 “ first-mentioned monies, shares, and per centage,
 “ shall not in any one year exceed one thousand
 “ eight hundred pounds.”

I cannot suppose that these five gentlemen, accus-
 tomed to business, and aiming at the direction of a
 public Company, could have been so negligent as
 to affix their signatures, without being fully aware
 of the purport of the instrument, conveying to Mr.

Wise such enormous sums ; and I must leave it to persons, better acquainted than myself with commercial transactions, to understand the motives which actuated them, in thus raising so serious an impediment to the success of a national undertaking.

The fate of the Company was decided by this bond, entered into before its commencement ; and the gentlemen who had signed it, having become Directors, obtained no support from the public, and possessed no means to carry out the important objects for the accomplishment of which the Charter had been granted.*

By a cursory inspection of the Registered List of Shareholders in August 1851, it will be seen that the undertaking had little reality, excepting upon paper. Out of the 2000 shares into which the Company's capital was to be distributed, Mr. Wise, the irremovable Director, held 728 shares ; Mr. Lindsay, the Chairman (with two relatives), possessed 713 shares ; and the remaining Directors 274 shares : thus making a total of 1715 shares in the hands of the direction.†

* Captain Luard of H.M.S. *Serpent*, in a report dated March 1852, the Reverend Francis McDougall, in the middle of the same year, and the "Singapore Free Press," so late as November last, confirm the inefficient working of the Company's mines in Labuan.

† The accounts relative to the Company's capital are perplexing : —

The List of Shareholders, as per Register of the 9th of

I thus, for the first time, became aware of the true cause, which had defeated an object I had been striving to advance, and I had long before perceived and represented the danger of coal from other places, superseding the coal of Labuan, and thus sealing the ruin of a settlement which deserved a better fate. I was resolved to remedy this state of affairs; I reported the circumstances officially; and with the knowledge of Ministers, I took proceedings in the Queen's Bench to vacate the letters patent.

One of the conditions of the Charter was, that the Company should not commence business until three of its Directors had given a certificate to the Board of Trade,* which certificate they were to endorse on the Royal Charter, that £100,000 had been subscribed for, and £50,000 at the least paid up of the capital of the Company. Whether this

August, 1851, shows the amount paid up on the shares at	£33,835
The abstract of general account of the Company, obtained from the Directors by Mr. Macgregor, June 28th, 1852, gives the paid capital as	29,825
	<hr/>
Paid up capital in 1852, minus	£4,010

thus demonstrating that the amount paid up on the shares, was £4,010 less in 1852 than what it had been in 1851—and as there is an annual decrease in the sum already paid up, we may in time, arrive at the true amount paid by the Shareholders—i.e. the Directors.

* Board of Trade, ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 3rd April, 1848. No. 227.

condition had been complied with was the main issue in the Queen's Bench, and in June last, the verdict given by the special jury was *to the effect that five of the Directors had given a false certificate to the Board of Trade, knowing it to be false.**

This verdict placed the merits of the question beyond dispute, and beyond appeal, and I must again affix the names of the Directors to this false certificate, lest the gentlemen, who have since joined the Company, and are not implicated by the verdict, should be confounded with their associates.

The certificate, pronounced to be false, and endorsed on the Charter, runs as follows:—“*We, the Directors of the Eastern Archipelago Company, hereby certify, that the sum of £100,000, being half of the capital of the said corporation, hath been subscribed for, and that the sum of £50,000 hath been paid up. Dated this 25th day of July, 1848.*”

(Signed) J. MCGREGOR, *Chairman.*

CHAS. D. BETHUNE, *Dep. Chairman.*

H. H. LINDSAY.

ALEX. NAIRNE.

HENRY WISE.”

The Directors set up in their defence, against the verdict of the jury, that *they had received permission from the Board of Trade to endorse this false and illegal certificate on the Royal Charter!!* It is replied, that the nature of the transaction cannot be

* That the £50,000 had not been paid up, as they well knew when they gave the certificate that it had been paid.

altered—that *the crime of falsehood must rest upon those who commit it*, that the guilt of the Directors has been proved by the verdict of a jury; and that the permission, pleaded as an excuse, could neither be given or accepted. In the second place it is shewn, that the Board of Trade was deceived by the Directors, *who requested permission to substitute property for capital, when in truth the Company had no such property as they represented it to have.* This is clearly demonstrated by Sir Stafford Northcote's letter* addressed to Captain Bethune on this subject; one or other of the Directors called upon me (writes Sir Stafford Northcote) and inquired, whether it would be correct to include *the value of the Company's property* in the return—this permission was granted,—but “whether we were right
“ or wrong (continues Sir Stafford) *in allowing the*
“ *property to be reckoned as part of the paid up*
“ *capital, we certainly did it with our eyes open.*”†

The representation, however, that the Company was possessed of property was a *false representation, as the certificate founded upon it was a false certificate; for having run into debt to the extent of £46,000, and in return having acquired a nominal property, asserted to be worth that sum, this nominal property which had not been paid for, was substituted for the paid up capital required by the Charter; and the Board of Trade, having been deluded by this pretext,*

* The whole of this letter ought to have been printed.

† Fourth Report of the Eastern Archipelago Company, p. 24, 25.

the false certificate was given that £50,000, at the least, had been paid up.

Sir Frederick Thesiger declared in the Queen's Bench, that "the £46,000 *only represented, in fact, a debt of the Company to that amount; they had not paid one farthing for the £46,000 worth of value.*"* And Lord Campbell from the Bench, in adverting to the proper exercise of the Attorney-General's discretion, stated that "it was possible that in this case evidence was laid before the Attorney-General, of the *gross fraud respecting the false certificate; that the capital of £50,000 had been paid up,*' which is suggested in the *scire facias, and which was proved to the satisfaction of the Jury, whereby there was a failure of consideration, and the objects of granting the Charter to work mines abroad, with capital to be subscribed at home, will have been entirely defeated.*"†

* Shorthand Writer's report of the trial, *Times*, 28th June, and 21st July, 1852.

† Lord Campbell, in his judgment, further stated that "the *scire facias* suggested *gross misconduct* on the part of the Directors, that they knowingly signed a false certificate," and "that *the alleged misconduct* must be considered as established by the verdict of the jury."—*Shorthand Writer's Notes.*

Other serious charges of misconduct have been proved. Lord Campbell, in summing up for the Jury, asked, "How is that (capital) made up? Not of the result of calls, but of some *imaginary value* put upon the coal mines in Labuan, and the coal mines in Borneo."—*Shorthand Writer's Notes.*

Earl Grey considered the rental of £100 per annum, as repre-

Thus, these five Directors, having substituted *no property, in the place of no capital, endorsed a false certificate, knowing it to be false, upon the Royal*

senting the proper value of the property leased to the Company in Labuan previously to the application of the capital stipulated by the Charter; the rental of the coal mines on the mainland was about £220 per annum, payable only when they should be worked, and with the rental of £320 per annum as the test of value antecedent to the development of the mines, (which at twenty years' purchase would give £6600,) the Directors of the Company, without *any warrant whatever*, stated this property to be worth £46,000, *that being the exact sum wanted to meet the condition in the Charter, and therefore likewise the exact sum owing to Mr. Wise for the transfer of the property.* Thus a year afterwards, in the account rendered to the Board of Trade appeared a credit in favour of the Company for £51,455 (including £46,000, the imaginary value of the property) to satisfy the stipulation of the Charter; and on the other side a debit against the Company for £46,000 to satisfy Mr. Wise!!

Here is the account as it stands.

Balance Sheet of the Eastern Archipelago Company for the year ending the 30th day of June, 1849.

Dr.			Cr.		
Ledger folio.	£	s. d.	Ledger folio.	£	s. d.
4 Royal charter, Crown lease, and coal grant . . .	46,000	0 0	1 Capital	51,455	0 0
6 Founder's original grant	4,200	0 0	46 Henry Wise	574	1 6
With other items of expense			56 Loan	2,000	0 0
	<hr/>			<hr/>	<hr/>
	£54,029	1 6		£54,029	1 6

Examined and approved.

(Signed)

J. H. GLADSTONE, Auditor.

J. MACGREGOR, Chairman.

Was the Board of Trade cognizant of *this fashion of substituting property for capital?* Until it be avowed, I do not believe it!

Charter, and the legal question at present pending solely relates to whether the revocation of the Charter should proceed from the Crown, under the sign manual, or from the subject, by *scire facias*.*

You will, I am sure, absolve me from any desire to injure these unfortunate gentlemen, who have placed themselves in a position so derogatory and so painful; but after a prolonged silence, when an accusation is advanced against me, upon *their authority*, I am bound to explain the circumstances which preceded and which gave rise to it.

LETTER IV.

MY DEAR SIR,

I approach the conclusion of a weary task, by noticing briefly that portion of Mr. Hume's pam-

* The total expenditure of the Company up to the 30th June, 1851, is alleged in the third annual report, p. 7, to amount to

Receipts	£10,819
Loss	7,033

Exclusive of the expenses in England, comprising interest upon the debt due to Mr. Wise, of £46,000, his salary of £800 per annum, &c. &c.

The scale of the operations may be judged from the fact that the Company's superintendant in 1849 was obliged to borrow £130 from the Labuan Treasury to prevent the stoppage of the works.—Par. P. Admiralty, printed 24th June, 1851, No. 428, p. 5.

phlet, which he supposes will “*convict me out of my own mouth,*” but which, in fact, is attempted by resorting to a vulgar artifice to pervert the meaning of a narrative sufficiently clear to any candid reader; it consists in extracting particular passages from a desultory and broken diary, which being torn from their contexts, and placed in unwarranted juxtaposition, without reference to dates, or to the change of circumstances, by altering the sense, by suppressing words, and by drawing false inferences, are made to appear of a condemnatory character.

It is an amusing supposition that I should have published my guilt to the world, and that during a series of years my confessions should have escaped the attention of the best critics, to be discovered by Mr. Hume when he was seeking some plea for his threatened attack in Parliament. “Books do not ruin characters,”* and if Mr. Hume desires to effect such a purpose by such means, he will be bound to accept the entire testimony which my written works will afford, and not by partial quotations to make the worse assume the semblance of the better cause.

I shall content myself with a reference to the Parliamentary Papers,† in order to prove the unfairness of Mr. Hume’s relation, of what really occurred; and a perusal of the diaries will at once confute the laboured perversion of their meaning,

* Colonial Office.—Ordered by the House of Commons, 17th May, 1852. No. 357, p. 121.

† F. O.—Parliamentary Papers moved for, but not yet presented to the House of Commons, 1853.

and the disingenuous distortion or suppression of their words.

I offer a brief, and unavoidably an imperfect summary of the narration contained in the works of Captain Keppel, and of Captain Mundy, where facts will be found, interspersed with opinions, and where the hopes, fears, or conjectures of the hour were noted down, amid the occasional record of passing events.

I visited Sarawak in my yacht.* I was unconnected with commerce. I met a native prince involved in difficulty. I assisted him. He offered me the country. I at first declined, as it would have been ungenerous to accept.† I was not eager to embrace the offer. The war was terminated successfully. Muda Hassim made out an agreement,‡ purporting that I was to reside at Sarawak, “to seek for profit.”§ I objected, and was assured that *this was not the agreement* understood between us. Trusting to the good faith of the Rajah, I purchased a vessel. I loaded her with cargo.|| I made this cargo over to him. I was detained month after month, at a ruinous expense. I requested repayment, or the fulfilment of his promise. I remonstrated. The Rajah allowed the justice of what I urged, and *again pledged himself to give me the country.*¶

* Keppel, vol. 1. pp. 7, 73, 142, 146, 177, 208, 209.

† Idem, p. 210.

‡ Idem, 213.

§ By carefully suppressing the context, which mentions my objection, and the assurance given, Mr. Hume makes this appear to be the *only* agreement.

|| Idem, p. 214.

¶ Idem, p. 243.

Delays followed—poison was attempted. I resolved to bring matters to an issue.* I loaded the guns, obtained an interview, and *with many protestations of kindness* towards the Rajah,† I threatened *Makota* with attack, as neither he (the Rajah) nor myself were safe, whilst *Makota* continued practising those arts. The Rajah then fulfilled his repeated promise. The Sultan's signature was freely obtained to the same grant of Sarawak; and I declined the government of all the rivers along a coast line of three hundred miles.‡

Early in the year 1845 arrangements had been made§ to obtain a fixed yearly revenue from the possessions of Bruné, which contributed nothing, or next to nothing;|| and at the same time to commute the tribute paid by Sarawak for a stated sum.¶

(These arrangements were not carried into effect, in consequence of the treacherous murder of the princes who held the reins of government, and subsequently, when order was restored, the Sultan through his Ministers ratified his violated engagements with England, and confirmed the cession of Sarawak on the terms previously agreed upon; the only difference being, that the sum to be paid was devoted to the support of the Rajah Muda Hassim's

* Mundy, vol. 1, p. 270.

‡ Mundy, vol. 2, p. 326.

‡ Mundy, vol. 1, p. 189.

† Keppel, vol. 1, p. 251.

§ Keppel, vol. 2, p. 158.

¶ Idem. vol. 2, p. 26—39.

unhappy family, instead of being given, as it would have been, to that prince himself had he lived.) *

This relation may be verified by a reference to the published works, but in order to prove the studied manner in which Mr. Hume suppresses the relative positions of the princes and parties in the city of Borneo, and the circumstances connected with the death of the one and the defeat of the other, the continuation of this summary will best explain.

I described the Government of Bruné to be in the last stage of decay. There was no sovereign but two claimants to the throne; namely, Omar Ali, called the Sultan (which is not the sovereign title), and Muda Hassim, called the Rajah. The claim of the Rajah was as valid as that of the Sultan—he possessed the *de facto* power, (which the Sultan could not exercise) before he quitted Bruné for Sarawak. † The Sultan was imbecile and wicked, “with the head of an idiot and the heart of a pirate.” § The Rajah was an amiable prince, his brother Budrudeen, an able and noble gentleman—they supported the cause of good government, desired to suppress piracy, and to advance commerce, they sought a friendly alliance with the English, and

* I mark by a parenthesis the circumstances not mentioned in the journals.

† Letter to James Gardner, Esq. p. 30.

‡ Mundy, vol. 2, p. 39.

§ *Idem*, vol. 1, p. 356—357.

had always in the capital been the protectors of European merchants. With the aid of Sir Edward Belcher, these princes returned to their native city Bruné, and were reinstated in the authority they before possessed, *because the people in general sided with Muda Hassim, and were decidedly opposed to the rule of Pangeran Usop, who had frightened the Sultan into a show of hostility.** On the other hand exercising an evil influence over the weak Sultan, was Pangeran Usop (an illegitimate son of the former sovereign or Iang di per Tuan), and connected with him, a *piratical party*, which not long before had committed an outrage upon British subjects.† *This piratical party was*

* Mundy, vol. 1. pp. 380, 381.

† Here is a fair example of Mr. Hume's process of arriving at a conclusion to suit his purpose. A reference to Captain Keppel's work, vol. 1, p. 237, 238, will shew that in January, 1841, the English ship Sultana had been burned at sea, and her crew plundered, and imprisoned by the Sultan and his Minister Pangeran Usop. Mr. Hume accuses me of having deliberately contemplated the Sultan's dethronement, and quotes as follows from my diary, in support of his assertion. *Vide Mundy, vol. 1, pp. 274, 275, 276.*

Mr. Hume's version.

"Feb. 2, 1842.—I some months ago suggested to N—, the "advantage of raising Muda Hassim to the throne, or placing "him as Bandharra (first minister) in a position to govern the "Sultan."

Sir James Brooke's Diary.

"Feb. 2nd, 1842.—It appears that the Bengal Government "has determined to resent the conduct of the Sultan of Borneo "and his profligate Pangerans, to the crew of the Sultana."

* * * * *

violent, difficult to restrain, opposed to commerce or good understanding,* and an obstacle alike to progress and to improvement. In 1843 the dissensions in the capital were serious, and the reason was, that Pangeran Usop aimed at acquiring power, and *ultimately gaining possession of the throne.*† Such was the state of parties when Muda Hassim regained his influence in Bruné. There are in my diary many conflicting statements, made at different times, in regard to the relative positions and claims of the Sultan and the Rajah, but the fact really was, as may be gathered from a fair comparison of these

“The increasing interest in China, owing to the war in that quarter, has induced the Government to act; *and foreseeing the possibility of such an event*, I some months ago suggested “to N — the advantage of raising Muda Hassim to the throne, “or placing him, as Bandharra, in a position to govern the “Sultan: *and it now seems that Mr. — is rather inclined to “adopt this suggestion, he having inquired how far such a step “would accord with my views.”*”

The annals of controversy cannot furnish a more deliberate and mischievous suppression. It is not done by Mr. Hume! but can he read its exposure without a feeling of shame? Placed in juxtaposition to the above is a passage from the diary of 1845.

It is true that I recorded my opinion that the Sultan was unfit to reign, and that it would be advisable to place Muda Hassim on the throne. Muda Hassim's return to Borneo had no connection with this opinion, which was opposed to his own views. Mundy, vol. 2, p. 75. Mr. Hume suppresses my reasons for the opinion I entertained.

* Mundy, vol. 2, pp. 11, 12, 14, 15.

† Idem, vol. 1, p. 355; vol. 2, p. 20.

conflicting passages,* that the Rajah acknowledged the Sultan, and forbore urging his claim to his prejudice, whilst the Sultan, with the single interval of his uncle's absence in Sarawak, acknowledged him as the Prime Minister, which he was by hereditary descent. †

The Rajah Muda Hassim, on his again assuming the reins of government, ‡ offered, in conjunction with the Sultan, to enter into relations to advance trade and to suppress Piracy.

The English Government accepted these offers, and dispatched a mission to Bruné to encourage the good resolves of the princes.

The Sultan and the Rajah conveyed renewed assurances of friendship to the Queen of England, and “*expressed their hope that through her assistance, they should be enabled to settle the government of Borneo, to suppress Piracy, and to foster trade;*” § and on the faith of the encouragement they had received, they resorted to measures for attaining the objects arranged between the two governments. ||

It further appears, that in February, 1845, ¶ I had succeeded in reconciling the rival parties—that Muda Hassim was in power, and Pangeran Usop

* Mundy, vol. 2, p. 75.

† The difference between an hereditary prime minister of the royal family in an Asiatic State and a prime minister in an European one should be remembered.

‡ Mundy, vol. 1, p. 187.

§ Idem, vol. 2, p. 15.

|| Keppel, vol. 2, p. 165.

¶ Mundy, vol. 2, p. 10.

friendly and quiet—that in May affairs had retrograded—that doubts had arisen in the minds of the well-disposed, from the continued absence of our support—and that Pangeran Usop disbelieved our power, and disturbed the public opinion.* In August of the same year, Sir Thomas Cochrane visited Bruné, to improve the good understanding which existed, and in accordance with the intentions of his own Government, as well as with the view of supporting the authority of Muda Hassim, demanded reparation *for the detention and confinement of two British subjects, subsequently to the friendly engagements entered into with England.*† The act however was Pangeran Usop's; he was too powerful for the Sultan and Rajah to control, and the measure, with their consent, was left in the hands of the naval Commander-in-chief. “I was in hopes that when he saw the overwhelming force opposed to him, his pride would yield to necessity.”‡ Usop was punished; the Government of Bruné supported in its object of suppressing evil, and the two British subjects, confined and enslaved, were liberated. I advised reconciliation; the Rajah Muda Hassim made every effort to bring Pangeran Usop over to the side of order.§ He was offered pardon, which he refused to accept.|| He attacked the city of Bruné, was defeated, and fled to Kimanis,

* Mundy, vol. 2, pp. 32, 33.

† Keppel, vol. 2, pp. 170, 171.

‡ Idem, p. 171.

§ Idem, vol. 1, p. 180.

|| Mundy, vol. 2, pp. 37—74.

where, after my departure, in obedience to a written mandate, signed by the Sultan and the Rajah, he was put to death (without indignity and without bloodshedding, according to the prescribed form of executing members of the royal family.)*

The Rajah Muda Hassim and the Pangeran Budrudeen became *the de facto rulers of Bruné*, which the Sultan could never be, on account of the imbecility of his mind ; and these Princes, who had been encouraged by the British Government in a worthy course of policy, were fully aware of the danger to which they were exposed, should they not be supported by their ally.† So imminent was this danger, that they urged upon the English Ministers their claim to protection, or otherwise demanded a release from their engagements.‡ I pleaded the same cause, and pointed out the peril. The Pangeran Budrudeen applied to the Naval Commander-in-chief for aid, and in my diary of 21st May, 1845, will be found the following sad entry, “*Budrudeen says he knows not the day when his own life and the Rajah’s may not be sacrificed. Delay is our ruin.*”§

The tragedy, which had cast its shadow before

* This mandate was, and probably still remains, in the possession of the Orang Kaya of Kimanis. I have marked in a parenthesis some particulars not mentioned in my diary.

† Mundy, vol. 2, p. 14.

‡ Foreign Office Correspondence, 1845.

§ Mundy, vol. 2, p. 33.

it, was consummated; a conspiracy was formed with the knowledge of the Sultan; in the dead of the night their houses were fired, and these amiable princes, the friends of the English Government, who trusted to its support in taking measures for the suppression of piracy—these princes were treacherously assaulted and foully murdered.

There are crimes at which humanity revolts; the treacherous and indiscriminate assassination of our nearest relatives, is one of these crimes. The wild and untutored savages of Borneo expressed their indignant abhorrence, and it was left for the liberal and civilized gentleman to declare that *it was an act which the Sultan was entitled to commit without rendering him responsible to his own subjects.** There are crimes hateful to God, and which should ever be hateful to man, and I have never hesitated to avow, that had the necessity arisen, I would have led the thousands of Borneo, who felt as I felt myself, to punish the perpetrators of this bloody tragedy, and to save the remnant of the royal family from the fury of their treacherous relative and sovereign. The necessity did not arise. Sir Thomas Cochrane proceeded to the entrance of the Bruné river, and “sent an amicable message intimating his intention of visiting the Sultan; the simple inquiry to be made was, whether the Sultan adhered to his former engagements, to which Muda

* Mr. Hume’s letter to the Earl of Malmesbury, p. 10.

“*Hassim had been a party.*”* *After three days’ detention, “the answer was an unmeaning letter, bearing a forgery on its face, with an insolent verbal message, conveyed in a manner, which all men, acquainted with native usage, would consider a gross insult. The Admiral proceeded up the river as he had intimated, it was open to the Sultan, to receive His Excellency, if he thought fit, but instead of doing so, the English flag was fired upon directly it came within reach of the Bruné guns.”*

Here the information, contained in my diary, concludes, and in offering this *entire testimony* to Mr. Hume for his consideration, I cannot better conclude than by a brief quotation from it. “Now I have brought up my journal to the close of the year 1844, and written as it has been at various intervals, and amidst manifold discomforts, it will probably be very disconnected and badly arranged.”†

Mr. Hume has asserted, that there is a law against a subject of England becoming the ruler of a foreign country. I know no such law, and supposing such a one could be discovered, and could be enforced, of what practical use would it be? Would such a law preclude a British subject becoming the minister or the adviser of a native chief? And supposing Mr. Hume’s objections to the tenure of Sarawak to be valid, what practical result could

* Mundy, vol. 2, pp. 324, 325.

† Mundy, vol. 1, p. 385.

follow? Would he deny the right of a free people to re-elect the ruler of their choice?

The people of Sarawak are a free people, free in the truest sense of that term, free to frame their own government, and free likewise to administer it,* and any encroachment on this admitted right, common to all communities whether large or small, would be a wrong only to be effected by violence, and an infringement of the principles upon which every free government rests.

Mr. Hume, however, is ignorant of the true position which I occupy; he is ignorant that in 1846 the Earl of Aberdeen expressed to the Netherland Minister his "satisfaction that the Netherland Government should be disposed to do justice to Mr. Brooke's conduct, since *his possession of Sarawak,*"—that every precaution should be taken to prevent the occurrence of the complications apprehended by the Netherland Minister; but that Her Majesty's Government could not allow the apprehension of their possibility to interfere with their duty to protect *the rights and interests* of her Majesty's subjects;" but should any proposition be made, "shewing a due regard for the *natural and acquired rights of third parties, and of her Majesty's subjects,*" such a proposition should be taken into the most favourable consideration. Mr.

* F. O.—Parliamentary Papers moved for but not yet presented to the House of Commons, 1853; and Despatch, November, 1852.

Hume is ignorant that Lord John Russell, as the Prime Minister, knowing the position I held in Sarawak, thanked me, in the name of her Majesty's Government, for the services I had rendered to my native country; that the flag hoisted at Sarawak was sanctioned as a commercial flag by the English Government, which had previously declared that it sought to avail itself of "*my relations*" with that country. He is ignorant that the President of the United States addressed me as the ruler of Sarawak, proposing a treaty of friendship and of commerce with America; that Lord Palmerston, being previously informed, offered no objection to the contemplated treaty when the subject was mentioned in Parliament;* and, lastly, that my position in Sarawak has been known and tacitly acknowledged during the last ten years by England and by the other countries of Europe.

I lay no great stress upon these formal or informal sanctions from without. I have the support of the people to confirm such a cession made by Bruné, as England might formerly have made of France, or that the Two Sicilies might now make of Jerusalem. I insist upon the practical question; a government has been established which is administered by the chiefs and people; the scanty population has increased to 60,000 or more souls; and security, order, and prosperity have succeeded

* *Times*, 28th March, 1851.

to rapine, oppression, and famine. In 1842 the trade of Sarawak was conveyed by a few native prahus, and in 1852 it employed 25,000 tons of shipping; from a straggling village Sarawak has increased to a considerable city—a busy and thriving mart, where the European mixes on kindly terms with the native—where crime is infrequent, and where authority is supported by the people. Could such success spring from a narrow and a sordid policy?

The tree must be judged by its fruit, and when the question has been divested of passion and of prejudice, men will wonder that such notorious facts were not believed upon testimony, and could not be verified without inflicting an individual injury.

The government of Bruné has long since lost all command over its subordinate possessions; they have cast off their allegiance, and for years past have paid little or nothing towards the support of the Sovereign or of his Court.* Where there is no power to restrain, there is a tendency towards lawless excess in many of the communities; and though the establishment of the government of Sarawak has in a great measure checked this downward tendency, and has encouraged the well-disposed, it has not resulted in the formation of similar governments in the other rivers. This is to be

* Mundy, vol. 1, p. 189.

attributed to the want of confidence in their chiefs, to the incapacity of the chiefs themselves, or to their unscrupulous use of power; so that the numerous communities of the coast live in a state of internal distraction or depression, and the countries they inhabit are not developed to commerce, or to the application of European capital, merely from the absence of good government.

In 1845 I had arranged to apply a remedy to this state of affairs,* and with the consent of the Bruné rulers, I was to have commuted all claims for a revenue,† (which they could rarely obtain without coercion, if they obtained it at all)‡ for a fixed yearly sum to be paid on the condition, that each subordinate government should be left to regulate its internal administration. I have ever since adhered to the proposed arrangement, *for I possess that power, and that influence from my position at Sarawak*, and from the success attendant on the Government established there, which would enable me to form inexpensive establishments in the various localities; and either to make over the surplus revenue, whenever it should accrue, to the Bruné Government, or to commute the taxes, which should be justly paid according to former custom, for a fixed sum, as previously proposed. Some

* Vide note at the conclusion.

† Mundy, vol. 2, p. 26.

‡ The more powerful communities resist the authority of Bruné, whilst any attempt to coerce the weaker ones or to oppress them, would lead to their taking refuge in Sarawak.

plan of this sort would be a great benefit to the Sovereign, and to the nobles of Bruné; it was proposed by them recently to the English Government, and it would afford them an interest in the advancement of their dependencies. It would likewise be a blessing to the various communities by affording them security, permanency, combination, and increasing prosperity, and it would, by the progress of good government and by the development of the richest countries in the world, become in due time an object of great national importance to England. *There can be no trade without Government*; and trade must always be confined to its lowest limit, where the producing classes are not remunerated for their labour, or where there is insecurity for life or property. Such has unfortunately been the case throughout the Eastern Archipelago, for very many years past: England is content with an emporium where trade is free; but the trade sold in the market of Singapore is often wrung from the toil of the starving Dyak, or is stained with the blood of the peaceful trader, we have no knowledge, we have no influence, we make no exertion, we shrink from interference in native states, we effect no good, because we fear a possible difficulty, substantial advantages are lost from want of action, and the fairest lands are abandoned to piracy, barbarism, and the worst evils of misgovernment! Let any man consider what would be the result on English trade should such a state of affairs accrue!

Let him reverse the picture, and consider what the commerce of the Eastern Archipelago might become under the same circumstances of security and of peace, which England has so long enjoyed! This is no visionary dream of improvement, it rests on the simplest principle of political economy, and has been *practically demonstrated in Sarawak*. Let similar governments be established; let a similar kindly development follow, let a yearly increasing trade spring up, and the north-west coast of Borneo *alone* will become of importance to the commerce of Great Britain. This is no sinister project of mine, but one which has been recorded since the year 1845, and if there be some who will give me credit for evil motives, there are others, and I trust a far larger portion of my countrymen, who will agree with me, that this measure is for the benefit of the native princes, for the happiness of the native population, and for the advantage of England; for myself *I might gain increased power, with the increased burden of responsibility and misconstruction!*

Mr. Hume has said that I have been supported in Sarawak by the navy of England, but I believe that this will be found as little consonant with fact as his other allegations. The naval officers have, under orders from their own government, on several occasions, acted against the piratical hordes which infested the coast; but the suppression of piracy is a treaty obligation imposed upon this country, and can only affect Sarawak, as it affects

the rest of the world in a greater or lesser degree ; beyond this a man-of-war has occasionally visited Sarawak, in the same manner as they visit the ports of other countries without any interference with the internal affairs of the government, and with the real object of protecting British subjects and British commerce. I plead guilty to having availed myself of *the prestige* of such visits to advance the cause of order, although I never claimed any authority in consequence of them ;* and I have on all occasions found a sincere desire on the part of the naval officers to advance what they considered for the interests of their own country or of mankind. They have most of them enjoyed ample opportunities of forming a judgment from local knowledge and experience, and on this account have ever been the most consistent in denouncing the mischief and the injustice of the course which Mr. Hume has pursued.

I have little more to add. Mr. Hume can gain nothing by his persevering abuse of me ; he cannot even accomplish so paltry an end as my ruin. If to-morrow I retire into private life, the relative positions of Sarawak and of Bruné would not be changed ; the former would maintain the independence it has achieved, and which has been declared for the past ten years. The impulse of good government has been given—the blessings of order

* Keppel, vol. 1, pp. 320—326.

and security have been appreciated, and no legal quibbles—no fine spun distinctions—no unfair suppressions or unwarrantable inferences, can avail against the will of a free people. The right of a people to resist oppression, to punish crime, and to live under the government it has established, is undoubted; it is a right which Mr. Hume *cannot disturb*—it is a right which the justice of Parliament *will not disturb*.

Mr. Hume can gain nothing; but he may lose much. At an advanced age he may forfeit the reputation he has publicly staked—he may lose his self-respect as he becomes aware that he has lost the respect of his countrymen.* At the extreme verge of man's life, he may feel the bitterness of vain strife, and wake to the sense that in striving to injure me, he has injured the natives of Borneo. Why, therefore, this fierce contention—why the

* "WE ARE OF OPINION THAT SIR JAMES BROOKE OUGHT NOT TO TAKE LEGAL PROCEEDINGS AGAINST MR. HUME FOR THE LIBELLOUS MATTER CONTAINED IN THE PAMPHLET LAID BEFORE US.

THE CHARGES CONTAINED IN THAT PAMPHLET ARE ONLY REPETITIONS OF OTHERS LONG SINCE MADE, AND FULLY ANSWERED.

WE CANNOT ADVISE SIR JAMES BROOKE TO EMBARK IN AN ENORMOUSLY EXPENSIVE LITIGATION FOR THE PURPOSE OF REPELLING IMPUTATIONS WHICH NO ONE BUT THE WRITER OF THE PAMPHLET IS LIKELY TO BELIEVE.

(Signed)

FRED. THESIGER.
HUGH HILL.
JAS. S. WILLES."

words of hatred and of indignity with which his writings and his speeches abound; a just cause would be better promoted by moderation, and violent declamation be well exchanged for a sober appeal to facts, based upon *credible and legal testimony!* Until Mr. Hume does this, he will be pronounced *unjust* by all those whose opinion is of value; and although his motives may not be evil, he cannot be justified in urging accusations without a shadow of direct proof. I bear him no ill will, and as all that he has said or done have never influenced my past conduct, so all that he may say or may do will not disturb my future course. The past is now beyond recall; the Sultan of Borneo has gone to render his account to God for the murder of his relatives; the city of Bruné is distracted by rival claimants to the throne; the friends of order (shorn of power and of talent since 1846) are again opposed to the piratical and ill-disposed; we shall hear of *massacre* and of *bloodshed*; the government will pass away amidst their fierce conflict of *deeds, and not of idle words*; and yet with these impending evils Mr. Hume still strives to prevent my exerting the influence I possess to reconcile contending factions, or to place the worthiest claimant on the throne, and thus to save the sovereignty from extinction. I am bound to the son of Muda Hassim by every sentiment of honour. I would save him from the fate of his unhappy father and uncle, and I would teach him by precept and by example to govern his people justly.

The peace, the progress, the prosperity of Sarawak are the best assurances of what may be done on that coast by a just maintenance of power combined with a kindly influence over the native mind. I have desired to reconcile the progress of good government among the natives with the advancement of the commerce of England. I still desire to serve my country, with honour to myself, and with usefulness to her, and it is only when this can no longer be done, that I shall assert the independence I feel, and which I prize above all other earthly distinctions. To you, my dear Sir, I owe a debt of gratitude, which I am proud to acknowledge, and which I will repay in the manner most pleasing to your feelings, by the defence of the cause of truth, and of justice, of the injured, and of the innocent.

I long to escape from these ceaseless heart-burnings and vain contentions. It is with pleasure, mixed indeed with some regret, that I shall leave this country, and whether in public or in private life, I can find a home in the land where I am respected and beloved; and whatever may be the course of events, whatever the progress of time may bring me, of evil or of good, I can calmly appeal from the present to the future, and from the judgment of man to the justice of his Maker.

Believe me,

&c. &c.

J. BROOKE.

P. S.—Since concluding my task, I have been informed that there are some gentlemen who, allowing the piratical character of the Sarebas community, and the justice of the punishment inflicted at sea, entertain a doubt whether the expedition *on shore*, to the places they inhabited, can be justified.

I pointed out this mode of proceeding to Her Majesty's Government in 1845, and it may be presumed that it met with their concurrence, or it would not have been permitted in action. This course is recommended by common sense as the most effectual way of protecting the innocent from the depredations of the guilty. It is supported by the opinions of the ablest jurists; I may instance the opinion of Chancellor Kent, viz. that "pirates" *are every where pursued and punished with death,*" Commentaries, vol. 1, p. 183, ed. 1844; and of Sir Stephen Lushington, "Nor is it to be supposed, (he observes) that *the name of pirate does not attach to persons on shore, but merely to persons at sea, who must have some residence on shore.*" Vide Keppel's Visit to the Indian Archipelago, vol. 1, p. 226, 227. Further than this it has been practically acted upon by all nations, at all times. By the English, Americans, Spanish, in the West Indies, by the English in the Red Sea, and by the Dutch, and Spaniards, and English in the Eastern Archipelago, viz. by the Dutch, the inhabitants of the islands of Vordate and of Flores were severely

punished for their piracies. Two piratical retreats were burned and destroyed on the south-east coast of Saleyer ; at Sekana the houses were fired as well as the prahus, &c. &c. &c. By the Spanish the island of Balanini was utterly destroyed, and every inhabitant of the pirate community, that escaped the attack, was carried away. Sulu was likewise attacked, and the city burned for piracies alleged to have been committed, &c. &c. By the English the city of Sambas was attacked and destroyed. Captain Chads of the *Andromache* frigate burnt and destroyed some piratical haunts on shore. Captain Keppel, in 1843-44, destroyed and burned Sarebas and Sakarran ; Sir Thomas Cochrane in 1845 and 1846 destroyed Malludu, &c. In 1849 Captain Farquhar repeated the punishment of the Sarebas, and on all these occasions the proceedings were approved by Her Majesty's Government.

NOTE TO PAGE 50.

THE reasons which induced me to attempt the settlement of the coast are expressly recorded, Mundy, vol. 2, p. 26; but, in spite of this, Mr. Hume urges the accusation, that *I designed to subjugate the rivers contiguous to Sarawak*. He does not instance a single hostile act unconnected with the suppression of Piracy, and the only expression he can find in support of his accusation, is that I desired "to establish Sarawak influence and rule." Mr. Hume, however, as an acute literary critic, must be prepared to weigh the sense of a single form of expression, with parallel passages in the same writing, and I shall not despair of convincing him that the words he has quoted will not fairly bear the sense he wishes, or warrant the accusation he has advanced.

The following extracts, as exhibiting Mr. Hume's ordinary mode of reaching the goal for which he strives, are interesting, and on any less serious subject, would afford amusement.

<i>Mr. Hume's version.</i>	<i>Sir J. Brooke's text, with its context and explanatory passages.</i>
	<p>Letter to James Gardner, Esq., 1841, p. 30.—"From the imbecility of his nephew, Omar Ali, the affairs of Borneo are <i>entirely in the hands of the Rajah Muda</i>" (Hassim). Page 27.—"The Rajah Muda Hassim came from Borneo to suppress it" (the rebellion). Pages 32, 33.—"I</p>

<i>Mr. Hume's version.</i>	<i>Sir J. Brooke's text, with its context and explanatory passages.</i>
<p>Borneo Papers, 1846, p. 59.</p> <p>“It is highly desirable, therefore, to remove Muda Hassim, and his suite, to Borneo proper, not only from his being mischievous here, (at Sarawak,) but from his presence being necessary in the capital, to uphold our influence there. I hope to effect this through Keppel's kindness, &c.”</p> <p>(Thus it would appear that the Rajah, Muda Hassim, a prince of the blood royal, uncle of the imbecile Sultan, who managed entirely the affairs of Borneo, was about to return home to his native city in 1844, according to arrangements made in 1841.)</p> <p>Borneo Papers, 1846, p. 59.—With the neighbouring rivers our grand</p>	<p>propose the following steps;” 3rdly, “To return with the Rajah Muda Hassim to Borneo Proper, and through his means to establish an English influence.” Keppel, vol. 1, p. 320, 1842.—“The Sultan, Pangeran Usop, Pangeran Mumein, and others, declared ‘Borneo would never be well till he (Muda Hassim) came back.’”</p> <p>Borneo Papers, 1846, p. 59.—“This Pangeran (Muda Hassim) and his brothers, do no actual mischief, but there is a slight tendency to petty intrigue and a great drawback to trade whilst they are present, for no native will trust himself within reach of his Rajahs if he can help it.”</p> <p>“It is highly desirable, therefore, to remove Muda Hassim and his suite to Borneo Proper, not only from his being mischievous here, but from his presence being necessary in the capital to uphold our influence (i. e. British influence) there: I hope to effect this through Keppel's kindness, &c. &c.”</p> <p>Borneo Papers, 1846, p. 59.—“With the neighbouring rivers our grand struggle is approaching, and I</p>

Mr. Hume's version.

struggle is approaching, and I am rejoiced that it is so, for it will at once bring about what otherwise might have cost us years to effect, viz., the removal of all the bad and pestilent Rajahs and their followers, and the establishment of Sarawak influence and rule over the contiguous rivers."

(How does Mr. Hume justify the suppression of the context?)

Idem, p. 59.—"The removal of the bad and pestilent Rajahs and their followers."

(I was not, therefore, writing about Muda Hasim, as Mr. Hume supposes, but the term, 'Rajah' is commonly applied in a general sense to a man of rank.)

Idem, p. 59.—"The establishment of Sarawak influence and rule over all the contiguous rivers."

(Mr. Hume again suppresses the context to suit his purpose!)

There are numerous passages relating to "British influence," "our influence," "my influence," "Sarawak influence," which should limit the

Sir J. Brooke's text, with its context and explanatory passages.

am rejoiced that it is so; for it will at once bring about what otherwise might have cost us years to effect, viz. the removal of all *the bad and pestilent Rajahs and their followers, and the establishment of Sarawak influence and rule, over the contiguous rivers. Good and evil are now fairly pitted against each other, and I repeat again, I am glad of it—Heaven help the right!*" Page 60 of the same letter: "*Seriff Sahib marking his course with rapine, retired to Sakarran.*"

Idem, 1846, p. 60.—"Linga has, or had, its *resident demon*, Seriff Jaffer. Sakarran has a small Malay population, at the head of which is Seriff Muller. The Dyak population is very numerous and *highly piratical*. Seriff Sahib was born in Sakarran; for many years he was the sole ruler of all the rivers, *destroying the Dyaks, oppressing the Malays, employing the Sakarrans on frequent piratical excursions, and fostering all the Illanun and other pirates*. The influence of these Seriffs must be entirely broken, and their persons banished."

Idem, p. 59.—"The establishment of Sarawak influence and rule over all the contiguous rivers."

Idem, p. 60.—"*The utmost good will result to every river along the coast, for they will then look to, and appeal to us, and we may gently influence their various governments!*"

Mr. Hume's version.

sense of the latter expression.

Vid. Mundy, vol. i. pp. 343. 344—376. Borneo Papers, 1843, p. 12, &c.

Mundy, vol. i. 268—269. Mr. Hume states that the visit of the "Diana" steamer to Sarawak, as I observed, "strengthened my position" and "otherwise did good to my cause, by creating an impression among the natives, of my power and influence with the Governor of the Straits settlements."

(How does Mr. Hume imagine I can prevent a popular impression?)

Sir James Brooke's text, with its context and explanatory passages.

Letter from Sir James Brooke to Captain Sir Edward Belcher, 1843.

"*The virtual ruler (of Borneo Proper) would in fact be a British servant in disguise.*"

Keppel, vol. i. p. 234-244.—"They were therefore excessively frightened when a week after the Swift, the Diana steamer entered the river. *I had the pleasure of calming their fears, and was too generous to push matters to a settlement, during the two days the steamer remained,*" et seq.

Relative to the same negotiation, arising out of the detention of the crew of the Sultana in Borneo Proper. I stated to the Sultan: "*That I was not a man in authority, or belonging to the East India Company.*" — Keppel, vol. i. p. 320.

These extracts afford a fair specimen of Mr. Hume's honesty in his literary character; but there are other amusing perversions of facts and of meaning. He asserts that *I took Muda Hassim aboard a man-of-war*, to Bruné, p. 9. How could *I* take any one on board a ship of war? Again—the native Datus resisted the Sultan's authority for several years before my arrival in the country—my interference induced this people to lay down their arms; that after nine months subsequently passed in vain endeavours to establish the power of Muda Hassim,—*i. e.* endeavours made by Muda Hassim himself—that Prince

handed over the country which he could not govern to me ; and the Datus and people accepted my government, as they had before accepted my mediation. (p. 6.) This Mr. Hume declares to be a contradiction !

Page 13 shews that in 1844 I wrote that "I could not sport an independent monarchy," and that in 1852 I declared (the circumstances being altered) that "I held my position at Sarawak as emanating from the will of a free people, to choose its own form of government." Is there any thing new or astonishing in this ? Do not changes of circumstances beget changes of government ? Do not nations progress from dependence to independence ? Do not people advance from slavery to freedom ? Would Mr. Hume push back the dial of time, and maintain the divine rights of despots and despotic governments ?

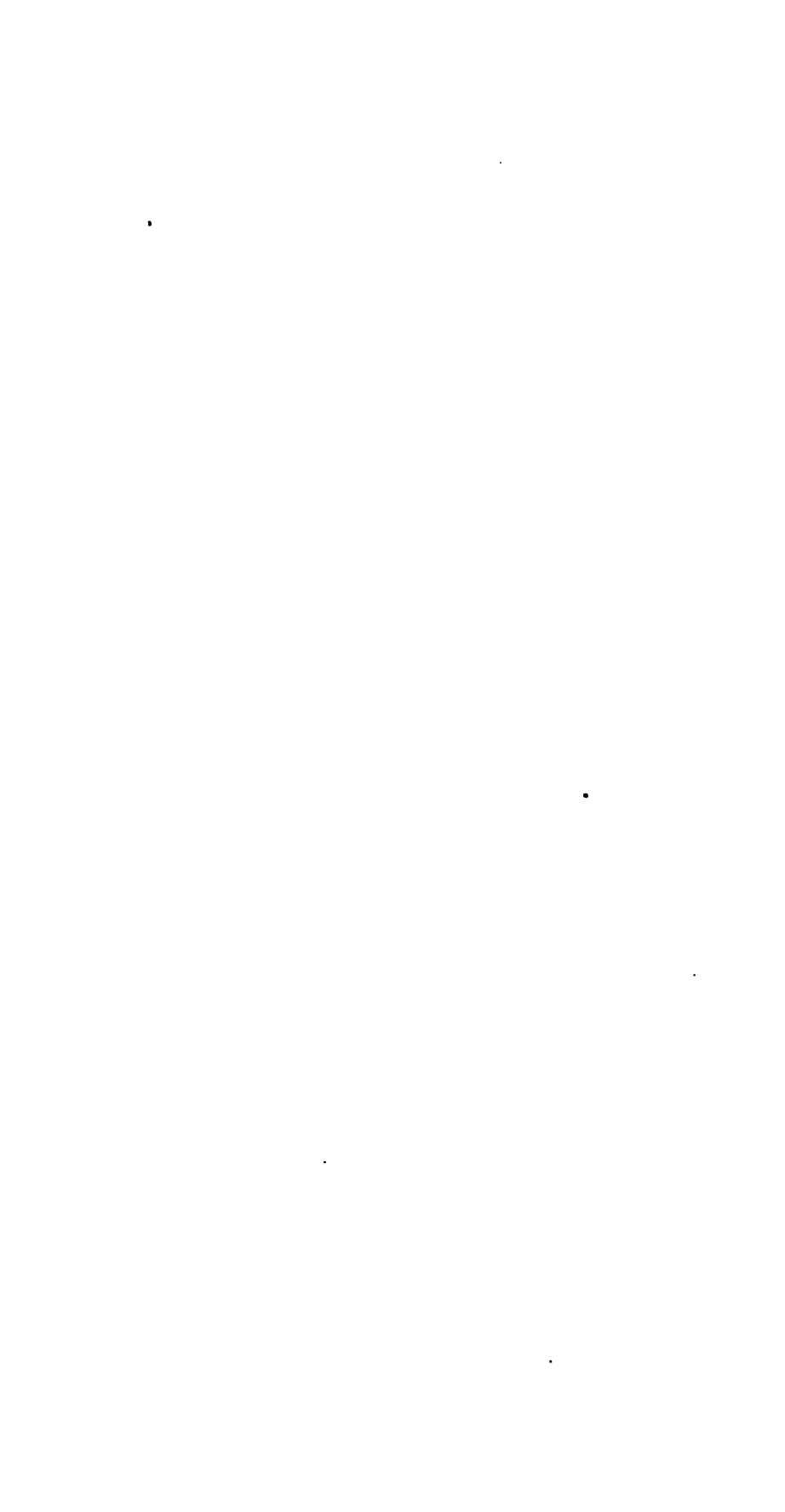
No man has better reason to complain than myself of the means which have been used *to make out a case against him*. A correspondence of eight years (of which I retain no copy) has been quoted, doubtless, in the same manner that Mr. Hume has quoted from my published diary. Another private correspondence with an intimate friend, which was accidentally obtained, and secretly copied, has been employed, with the same object of injuring me. The evidences of *two* Captains of the East India Company's marine, have been magnified into the evidences of *four officers*, to give a *prima facie* importance. A memorial, addressed to Mr. Hume by fifty-three merchants—who were not merchants—has been dwelt upon, as though it contained something beyond a desire for inquiry, founded on a profession of ignorance ! A letter was written, and "*cooked*" for William Henry Miles, who could not have written it himself ! Eighty pounds sterling was offered for the copy of a letter which was supposed would prove injurious to my cause ! and *the Government of Brune was*

instigated to make complaints to the Queen of England against my proceedings ; and this conspiracy not succeeding, a fabricated statement was made out, which Mr. Hume still parades as an evidence, though it has been disowned by the Princes of Bruné, and by them exposed. Mr. Hume ought to distrust the honesty of his informants, or honest men will distrust him !

THE END.

ERRATUM.

In note * to p. 19, for "Gordon" read "Gardner."





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